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The New Tariff

In his address before the Southern Tariff Congress, at Atlanta, Calvin Coolidge, with his usual felicity, directed his hearers' attention to a historic fact, too often overlooked. It is that tariff protection, instead of beginning as a local or party idea, was first national and was one of the prime influences in bringing the states together, and that as men of Southern birth were the foremost advocates of nationalism so they were the original protectionists.

In the critical period following the Yorktown victory it was demonstrated that political independence was of doubtful value unless supplemented by economic independence, and that economic independence was impossible unless there was one central authority to stimulate inner development of industry. So the encouragement of domestic manufactures was the first business of the first Congress. Not until the slavery issue weakened nationalism did protectionism become partisan or sectional, and men of the South return to their ancient faith when they champion it now.

The war, though it has altered many conditions, has not changed essentials. It is still necessary to guard our life. "We subscribe," says Mr. Coolidge, "to the creed of world brotherhood, but we recognize that we can serve the world best by serving America first. We cannot raise a bankrupt world to solvency if we permit America to become bankrupt." And, again: "The problem with which we are confronted is to prevent industrial isolation on the one hand and industrial submergence on the other."

There is little danger of the former in view of the fact that American imports are now four times larger than before the war and in view of the further fact that the outside world owes us \$20,000,000,000, interest on which will constitute a draft for goods.

The danger is rather of industrial submergence. The particular tariff problem of the hour is how to avert it and at the same time even balances. The best present answer to the paradox of keeping goods out and getting interest in is that Americans must habituate themselves to the idea of reinvesting income accruing abroad. Great Britain long did this, yearly increasing her investments beyond her borders, and thus found herself possessed of enormous overseas resources when strain came on her. In a similar way this country will doubtless add to its capital abroad, and not always insist on actual shipments of either goods or gold. The reinvesting may be counted on to become as natural and unnoticed as other investments.

Those now afflicted with a great dread of a flood of foreign goods will doubtless discover that a new set of conditions will furnish a sufficient deterrent, and hence remove the need of mutually harmful embargo barriers.

Cox and 1924

On the "you-never-can-tell" theory, James M. Cox is resisting efforts to dislodge him from control of the Democratic national organization. On the theory he should be dislodged, friends of Mr. McAdoo, with assistance from William J. Bryan, are trying to force a meeting of the Democratic National Committee for the purpose of deposing George White, the present chairman, and reorganizing the committee on an anti-Cox basis.

These clashes interest the politicians in Washington, even if the concern of the public in them is remote. Hope springs eternal in the potential Presidential candidate's breast. Mr. Cox had an experience last Election Night which would discourage anybody but an incurable optimist. Mr. McAdoo thrice, or three times thrice, waved away the fatal nomination which his loyal adherents worked overtime to thrust on him at the San Francisco convention. Yet both are maneuvering again for a struggle hold on the party machinery. Both are applicants for the receivership, if the party's outstanding need at present is conceded to be a receiver.

The Democratic party has seldom been averse to renominating Presidential candidates, even defeated ones. It has had only five candidates

since 1884. Cleveland was elected twice and defeated once. Bryan was defeated three times. But there are certain disqualifications which Democratic conventions haven't ignored. Bryan always got a large popular vote—6,467,000 in 1896, 6,368,000 in 1900 and 6,407,000 in 1908. When Alton B. Parker was the candidate in 1904 his popular vote was less than 5,100,000. Nobody thought of renominating him. Bryan's popular vote in each of the years he ran was even larger than Wilson's in 1912. Cox's 1920 vote was only about 13,000 larger than Wilson's in 1916, although the total vote cast increased, roughly speaking, from 18,000,000 to 27,000,000.

Cox's eligibility for renomination is certainly no greater than Parker's was. In the campaign he showed unbounded confidence in himself. But his mistakes in judgment were fundamental. Bryan was the only Democratic leader in 1920 who analyzed the situation correctly. He saw the dangers of a "great and solemn referendum" with the Democratic party at the impossible end of it. Cox was nominated by the anti-Wilson forces in the convention, but immediately surrendered to the Wilson view. He invited the catastrophe which overtook the party. Perhaps that fact qualifies him for the receivership he now seeks. It can hardly qualify him for leadership in an out-of-the-ditch campaign in 1924.

The Flexible Fare

Not a little is said in favor of the flexible traction fare. Our esteemed contemporaries The Subway Sun and The Elevated Express strongly favor the idea. Broadly stated, it is most alluring, and if it could be applied in an ideal and complete way it would meet many claims of both justice and public need. Most sensible people recognize that in the long run good traction results cannot be achieved unless, like other businesses, traction pays its own way.

But as brought out by a report of the City Club's committee on public service, it is doubtful whether the plan has much applicability to New York under existing conditions. In the first place, it presupposes an entirely unified system, whereas New York has thirty-five privately owned systems, and except at prohibitive cost it seems impossible to unscramble them. Each has its separate bondholders and stockholders (sometimes several layers down), underneath operating leases. Each has its franchise which the state Legislature, even though so disposed, cannot arbitrarily abrogate. Each has its peculiar traffic density which intimately affects cost of service per passenger. No one has suggested how these various interests can be forced to let go, or how those with an underhold can be induced to surrender it unless they are bought out at prices agreeable to them.

Competition among the various lines would affect the cost of service on each. For example, consider the now separately operated Third and Second Avenue lines. Should the cost of service formula work out a six-cent fare for the Third Avenue line it would probably work out ten cents for the Second Avenue line because of its emptier cars. With divergent fares business would go over to Third Avenue, lowering Third Avenue traffic costs per passenger and per contra increasing them on Second Avenue, thus adding to the original disparity.

The Governor speaks of a single service and a single fare, but only vaguely. How can it be secured unless first a way is found to bring all the lines together? A general declaration that a unified service with one fare is desirable does not help point to a path. The Governor is a good enough lawyer to realize the difficulties of coercing the diverse companies into unity without encountering the constitutional obstacles to confiscating property.

The flexible fare plan probably can be used to some advantage with respect to the larger companies, but it seems impossible to apply it to the city as a whole.

New Baltic Nations

In recognizing Latvia and Estonia the Allied Council has accepted the realities of the situation in eastern Europe. A new map of that region is one of the consequences of the war. The old map of 1914 is gone forever. Some of the new territorial adjustments were ordered by the peace conference. In other cases boundaries have been created through local wars and settlements. The Allied powers have acted on the theory that the new states are entitled to a chance to live and develop. The principle of nationality for small nations as against absorption into federated or unified empires is being tested. From the small nation point of view Finland is as much entitled to stand alone as Czechoslovakia; Estonia or Latvia is more entitled to do so than Albania or Armenia.

Estonia and Latvia have been provisional republics for a couple of years. They successfully repulsed attempted invasions by the Russian Red armies. They have treaties with the Soviet state acknowledging their independence. They are in every sense *de facto* powers. Why shouldn't their status be confirmed, so far as it is necessary to confirm

it, by action on the part of the Allied Council?

The contrary theory, expressed in our State Department's recent notes, rests on the assumption that a redrafting of the old map must wait on a future Russia's pleasure. Another Russia is to be created, of a form and character which no one can now guess at, before the border states can take definite form, if, in fact, they are not to lapse back into the old loose-knit Romanoff empire. But this principle is flouted by Finland's independence and by Poland's. These states haven't time to wait for an assumed rebirth of the old Russia. Nor has the rest of Europe time to wait until Russia undergoes another political revolution and manifests a different attitude than Lenin's toward the retention of her former western provinces.

Europe ought not to be condemned, therefore, for ignoring a Russian claim or protest which doesn't exist. It must deal with facts as they are. Latvia and Estonia are actual members of the new family of European nations. What objection is there to granting them formally the rights and privileges of such membership?

The Great Anti

It is tough luck the way every one, even a diocesan convention, picks on Mr. Hearst. Any one for whom that great editor says a kind word is promptly mown down by the voters; or if condemned by all the Brisbane adjectives he is at once promoted. Every knock is certainly a boost when Mr. Hearst swings the hammer.

There is some reason in all this. Mr. Hearst is the greatest living anti. He is anti-British, anti-Japanese, anti-Wilson, anti-almost everything. The only notable exception is his tendency to be pro-Hearst. In a campaign he is seldom—unless running himself—heart and soul for a candidate. He spends too much of his time trying to get even with his enemies ever to make many friends. So his opposition is fairly well welcomed by this time. It is purely personal and vindictive—closely resembling the gesture of a small boy putting his fingers to his nose—an endeavor to retort for a deserved thrashing. It offers an excellent, almost infallible, reason for standing for a man. Vote for every one whom Hearst bitterly attacks and you can't go far wrong.

There is only one matter in which this assertion does Mr. Hearst a grievous wrong. In that field he has never been charged with a negative, destructive policy. Nobody has yet accused Mr. Hearst of being anti-German.

Smoked Out

Mr. Daniels has been driven from cover by the prospect of a Congressional investigation of the navy building program. He has directed the General Board to take the matter under consideration and report to him. He says that "some well known writers are expressing the opinion that the battleship will at an early date no longer form the backbone of the fleet, but that ships of the air and ships of the submarine fleet will be the powerful ships of the future."

Better late than never. Mr. Daniels has always done the first thing last and the last thing first. Why did he not get an opinion from the General Board before he put in an estimate for \$690,000,000 for the navy? This matter has been discussed abroad for months and years. But until now Mr. Daniels has been ignorant of it or has ignored it.

And now as to the General Board. Is it not possible that this official body has been too subservient to Mr. Daniels during the last three or four years? It is to be hoped that any suspicion is ill founded. The people of the United States, who are to foot the bills, would think well of the General Board, but they would also know the truth and the whole truth as to the wisdom of our building policy.

It is possible, therefore, that a report from the General Board may not suffice. It would appear that there should be a thorough and intelligent investigation by Congress, with a free and fearless expression of opinion by officers of ability who have studied naval warfare and who are not connected with this administration of the Navy Department.

The Runaway Girl

In the simpler era before women learned about jobs and careers and all that sort of thing a runaway girl always meant just one thing, a man. "Find the man" offered the unfailing solution of every such problem—just as the converse of the phrase explained 100 per cent of masculine disorders.

Now when a Barnard girl disappears there is search by the detectives for "the man in the case." Detectives are always the last to learn of a shift in human motives. But there is no certainty that a man had anything to do with the case. Thus far, in the current episode of the kind, art and examinations are the only explanations uncovered. "So she ran away from home to study art," reads the modern version of the missing daughter.

Which suggests one of the serious faults to be found with that delightful and much debated proceeding "Miss Lulu Bett." The detail af-

forded by Miss Zona Gale is marvelously true; the motives which she supplies are incredible to the point of absurdity. If any sister and brother-in-law in America would treat a perfectly wise and good Lulu as a half-witted slavey, what sister of so much energy and wisdom would endure such abuse year after year? Cinderella was a step-daughter, be it remembered, to explain her treatment; and even old-fashioned, brow-beaten, she had pluck enough to run away in search of the only career then known—with the assistance of the fairy godmother that always comes to those who trust. No, in real life Miss Lulu would have shaken the dust of that awful home from her feet and left her pines flat long before a lover appeared or the third act came round.

Men still have their use in our two-by-two universe, but they do not offer the only conceivable escape for femininity in distress. Between the pursuit of art and the more certain and immediate returns to be had from biscuit-shooting many paths lie. If in these days of movies and the magazines Miss Lulu had never heard of them she deserved all she got.

Our Soldiers First

A Plea That Charity Should Begin at Home

To the Editor of The Tribune.
Sir: From Marion, Ohio, comes a report of the distressing situation suffered by some 30,000 soldiers who are still in hospitals all over the states. Pray, whose victims are these sufferers? Victims, primarily, of the Germans—you admit that? Very well. Should not every penny Americans can spare be used for the relief, the comfort, nay, even the luxury, of these victims of Germany? But, no, we are asked to give freely, lavishly, for the relief of these very Germans. "Charity begins at home"—put this proverb in action now and here. The writer has been in close touch with the Germans; no doubt thousands of their children are hungry, the children of the poor. The children of the well-to-do have enough, while their parents feast just as they did before the war.

Let Mr. Hoover (he means well) go ahead with his plan, but let The Tribune refuse to endorse this quixotic charity and call for help to be given generously to American soldiers who fought against the Germans, whose children they are now asked to feed.

Could not Colonel F. W. Galbraith be asked to head the same sort of appeal in which Mr. Hoover was successful? But this for the benefit of Americans! It is not charity, it is duty, which should make every American put his hand in his pocket and draw out "a biggest greenback he can spare, even if it were a sacrifice. Poor and rich would be glad of the opportunity to show these disabled soldiers that they count first and that nothing is too good for them.

A WORKER JUST BACK FROM SWITZERLAND.
Newark, N. J., Jan. 20, 1921.

To Increase Building

To the Editor of The Tribune.
Sir: The housing situation is far better than it was a year ago at this time. Nearly every difficulty connected with it has disappeared. Moreover we have had a year's experience, legislative and otherwise, respecting it. There is every reason to look forward to an increasingly active building season. But only upon one condition. Suitable action will have to be taken by the Legislature to insure a reasonable degree of prosperity for the owners of existing houses. This is not out of any consideration for the welfare of such owners, but solely as a condition of further building.

So long as rents are artificially held down to rates which the owners consider insufficient there is not the smallest likelihood of a satisfactory market for new buildings, even with special inducements which might be held out by law to the builders or subsequent purchasers.

It is idle to figure a percentage of alleged profit which ought to be considered satisfactory. We have had a long enough trial to demonstrate that the business of owning and renting residence property does not attract capital for the simple reason that it does not pay an adequate return.

It is held as an axiom among business men generally that it is the height of folly to buy a lawsuit, and yet this is what the Legislature has offered to the real estate owner whenever he considers it necessary to increase his rent. And in addition it has offered no adequate court facilities for the trying out of such cases, scarcely concealing its intent to discourage him from pursuing his right by the crowded condition of the court calendar.

However, the Legislature cannot be expected to enact such legislation as would put an end to the housing shortage unless the public itself shows a disposition to approve such modification of the present law. If the shortage continues, the public will have itself to thank; and it will illustrate once more the saying of Franklin that experience is a high-priced schoolmaster, but that some persons would have no other.

CHARLES E. MANIERRE.
New York, Jan. 24, 1921.

Nothing New

(From The Richmond Times-Dispatch.)
New York dispatches tell of 800 men sleeping in churches. But why the excitement? We do that same thing every Sunday, some Sundays, and with no blare of blackface type to tell the world about it.

A Drop in the Bucket

(From The Indianapolis News)
It sounds like plenty when it is said that the Republicans will have 240,000 Federal jobs to give away when they get in, but anybody who has had much experience with such things knows that it isn't.

The Conning Tower

ANOTHER VERSION
"Vides ut alia sita nite candidum."—Horace
1, 9

How cold and clear the Woolworth looms!
The Hudson's ice at Nyack ferry;
Sad Prohibition holds its glooms;
Pray spare the coke, for coal's high—very!

As to the League, it's lost its Root;
Let Untermyer worry Brindell;
What need that *we* should give a hoot?
Why, half the world is but a swindle!

You're not yet bald; you yet may shimmy;
Tennis and golf will keep off wrinkles;
You are too poor to fear the jummy;
For you the midnight star yet twinkles!

So, Thaliarchus, pike the vamp,
In gait and go a true Salome!
She goes gaa at you—you old scamp!
I'm from Missouri, you must show me!

TUDOR JENKS.

There will be a hearing to-morrow in the proceedings brought by the West End Association against the New Jersey plants whose acid fumes impregnate the air in the vicinity of Riverside Drive. [To the Composing Room: Keep this paragraph standing, to use every three or four years.]

Mr. Melville Henry Cane Sings His Triumph in the Following Strain:
Roscoe Crosby Cross-patch Gaige
Fumes and frets in a Towering rage;
Couldn't break into the Contries' Dinner,
So I took Hilda, the well known winner.
MEX.

According to Senator Harris, there is no shortage of print paper. We hope this is true; and that abundance of paper will help this department so that the column returns to pre-war width. It takes nine-tenths of the fun out of verse-writing to know that the lines, unless conspicuously short, will double over: the visual appeal of verse being important.

There Are No Limits to This Man's Abilities, Mr. Crocker, Crocker Fountain Pen Co., Everett, Mass.

Sir: You crape hanger! Here I spent this afternoon trying to make a good impression on the Crocker Fountain Pen Co., over in Everett, Mass., and was jolting back to Boston in the shadow of Bunker Hill with my final remark to Mr. Crocker ringing in my ears, "If you want to know anything about my ability as an advertising man, just call up Mr. Bradford." Then I smash into this in The Tower: "When people have time to think you over and consult others about you, your chances wane."

Now, the only chance I have to convince the Crocker Fountain Pen Co. that I have something on the literary ball is to show them this in a prominent place in a well known morning paper.

W. W. E.
Ever since I was a little girl—this kind of a singing verse—that one can say with a little tune sort of going along with it—a tune of one's own—because it has a fine music to it—this snatch of a verse—and I cannot remember who made it—has sung itself to me—at special times—those times when the beauty of the earth and water and sky—and woman—and child—come suddenly to one with the force of a blow, a great sound of music or a flare of light.—Nell Brinkley in The Journal.
Miss Brinkley's wish is as dashing a style as you might wish to see.

On "Deburau"

Nothing particular offers. Thought I, sitting in the office. So I started to write Some lines to-night About that show Called "Deburau." Well, I didn't think the stuff that Granville Barker Wrote was a marker To the lines George Cohan wrote a year or two Ago in the piece called "The Cohan Revue."

Barker never could Write a line so good As "You said you came to testify, Now whaddya got to say?" My vote'll go, Prose or rhyme, To George M. Cohan every time. Rum-tiddle-um-tum. Tum-tum.

Not unlike the Brooklyn policeman who moved the horse from the corner of Stuyvesant Avenue and Kosciuszko Street rather than spell it on his report is the clerk who made out D.V.N.'s bill for

October.....1 Hepsipidi
November.....1 Horpleide
December.....1 Tonic

The Slump in O. D.

To-day I passed a counter in a department store

Where knocked down articles lay,
And huddled in a heap in one corner

Were little metal mirrors
In khaki cases.

The unbreakable kind:
And there were little khaki cases

With darning thread
And needles;

And there were other khaki cases
With shoelaces

And shoebuckles;
And there were empty khaki cases

With little adjustable straps
To put things in handy

On a long march
Khaki cases of all sorts

Marked down to ten cents.
A. L. C.

There has been m. or l. comment

hereabouts concerning the musical magic

of monickers; but there are two com-

modities which, whenever we see them

advertised, we can't help writing fox

trots to. One always ends, in our mind,

Use it in your old machine—

That Good Gull, Gas-o-Jeeenel

And the other ends,

I'll cooily give you a permanent coil—

That Mulisled Coconut Oil!

Mayor Hylan, the reporters say, is

alive to the political possibilities of

the situation and intends to force the

traction issue to the front.

"Plenty of room up front."

F. P. A.

SURELY SUCH CAPTAINS OF INDUSTRY OUGHT NOT TO BE EXEMPTED

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